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The Christian Socialist

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A SOCIALIST'S SATISFACTION

"Ye Shall Know the Truth and the Truth Shall Make You Free."

SOCIALISM has its own special satisfactions. All our satisfactions are prospective and anticipatory, retrospective and wistful, or present and delightful. We Socialists quit sighing for some "golden age" of the past, and leave undisturbed those entranced by some Utopian vision—although we, too, have our ideal and see it radiantly clear;—we are on the firm scientific ground of our age and behold the inevitable and complete socialization of human life that is yet to bring the race to its SUPREME satisfaction. The actual realization of Socialism—now coming so subtle and fast—LIVING in the Co-operative Commonwealth—will be the culminating satisfaction. This, however is a bit anticipative a somewhat prospective pleasure. Just now I wish to emphasize the PRESENT satisfaction of Socialism—the delight we Socialists have in Socialism as TRUTH.

GEORGE ELMER LITTLEFIELD
National Socialist Speaker and Minister-at large of The Co-operative Fellowship

I have seen a mathematician smile when an intricate problem is solved. I have also seen tears of unalloyed joy in a scholar's eyes because a great truth was suddenly revealed to him. Scarcely anything is so pleasurable, so great and pure a joy, as the solution of a baffling problem, or the burst of the light of Truth upon a mind. SOCIALISM OFFERS THIS IMMEDIATE SATISFACTION TO ALL TRUTH-SEEKERS.

Here is the social problem:

After Æons of human development, after centuries of religious, moral and mental culture, to which is added our modern progress in science, WHY IS THERE SO MUCH POVERTY, MISERY, DEGRADATION AND CRIME IN THE CIVILIZED (!) WORLD?

The Church is phased, the schools are learnedly ignorant, science is still mostly devoted to dust; only the truth of Socialism offers the answer to the awful social problem:

So long as the exploitation of one class by another through rent, interest and profit, is sanctioned by unjust religious, moral and educational standards, so long will religion, ethics and science be defeated in bringing felicity to humanity. Apples do not perfect themselves in a heap of rot, nor do people develop uncorrupted in a dishonest industrial system—a competitive hell now sustained by church, college and press. GIVEN ECONOMIC JUSTICE IN A POLITICAL FRATERNITY of INDUSTRIAL PARTNERS, the RESULT IS NOBLE and HAPPY MEN AND WOMEN.

This solution, like the mathematician's, is pleasant to the Socialist. It is more. It is that deep-welling joy which comes to the lover of Truth. It is a sight of daylight to him who sees the other end of a dark tunnel wherein the suffocating masses are groping for a way of escape and freedom. It is a key to open the gates of the Kingdom of Heaven.

All around us is the puzzled and distressed multitude. Newspapers report day after day the horrid diagnosis of a diseased republic and they state no cause or cure; our magazines uncover civic cesspools of corruption and flash dark lanterns futilely on commercial brigands and their political henchmen, and perplexed Respectability remarks in a whisper on the Ahab and Jezabel methods of "benevolent assimilation" and "Christian expansion," but belonging to the ruling parties, says, "Hush, hush!" Professors in their colleges, ministers in their pulpits, "captains of industry" in their offices, workers in their unions, politicians in the lobbies and editors at their desks, blind leaders of the blind, are all wallowing in confusion and stumbling over the iniquity that makes the diary of today a nightmare. None can keep courage through all this except the Socialist who knows the cause—that competitive capitalism is a vampire system, allowing a ruling class to absorb the labor and life of wage-slaves and that the preying capitalists themselves must devour one another until the system collapses—the Socialist knows this and he also knows that out of expiring capitalism society is even now rising to regeneration, yea, sees the glorious goal to which humanity is moving—toward equality through the democratization of industry and the establishment of the People's Trust or the Co-operative Commonwealth—sees this and realizes that society is changing its economic basis, and that during this transition the present chaotic page of history must be written in black letters with only the one red letter of Socialism to illumine it. Aware of all this, the Socialist knows that the next historical page will be clear and beautiful. The brotherhood life will begin. The parliament of man and the federation of the world will be a reality. The Socialist is in the van and on the heights. Therefore he rejoices. He knows the Truth that shall make all free. Yes, there are tears in his eyes, but they are welling up out of his happiness—as the love-light in his glance and the smile on his radiant face testify.

GEORGE ELMER LITTLEFIELD.

IN the twentieth century war will be dead, the scaffold will be dead, royalty will be dead, and dogmas will be dead; but Man will live. For there will be but one country—that country the whole earth; for there will be but one hope—that hope the whole heaven.

VICTOR HUGO.

Ancient Scriptures Timely Now

"Thus saith the Lord: For three transgressions of Israel, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they sold the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes; they pant after the dust of the earth on the head of the poor, and turn aside the way of the meek."

"Ye commanded the prophets, saying, Prophesy not. Therefore the flight shall perish from the swift, and the strong shall not strengthen his force, neither shall the mighty deliver himself."

"Your treading is upon the poor, and ye take from him burdens of wheat. I know your manifold transgressions and your mighty sins; ye afflict the poor, ye take a bribe and ye turn aside the poor in the gate."

"I hate, I despise your feast-days and your solemn assemblies. Take away from me the noise of your songs; for I will not hear the melody of your viols. But let judgment run down as waters and righteousness as a mighty stream."

Socialism is the Protestant church's great opportunity. Unless it seizes it the Kingdom will be taken from it. To ignore the economic problem, the "bread and butter" question, the first petition from the Lord's prayer, means death. **O. F. NESBIT.**

A HALF CENTURY'S RETROSPECT

BY RUFUS W. WEEKS

FIFTY years is a short space of time in the life of the human race; one might compare it with a day or a week in the life of a man. Yet in the life of a man a single week may contain a number of events important to the man, and so may fifty years contain several events materially affecting the life of the race. A man's actions in a single day, even, may tell the story of his character, even so might we venture to guess, from the changes of fifty years in the conditions of the nations, what is the underlying tendency in the stream of Time.

One can speak with most conviction of what he himself has known as it happened, and it is therefore that I make this backward look over precisely half a century. For the first shift from year's date to year's date which lives in my memory is that which came with New Year's 1855; indeed, the figures 1855 still look fresh to me,—so vivid was that first impression of the written new year.

The question whether there is any constant set from worse to better in the flowing life of the race,—the question, that is,—"Do we move?"— and the next natural question, "How fast?" remind me of the problem of the glaciers which bothered the scientists in the early part of the last century. A glacier is a mass of ice, it looks rigid and stationary,—yet the scientists reasoned that it must move, and guessed that it did move. It remained for the great Agassiz to settle the question; he mounted the Unteraar glacier above Meyringen and drove a half dozen stakes ten feet down into the ice in a straight row across the glacier. A week was enough to show the movement,—they were out of line, the middle stakes further down the gorge than the side ones; at the end of a year exact measurements were made and it was found that the middle stake had traveled something over 200 feet, and the stakes nearest the banks something under 200 feet.

So let us take our stand on the banks of Time, at that point marked 1855 and drive a row of stakes across the rigid face of the institutional life of the world, and then see where these stakes are today, whether they have moved together, and, if so, at what rate. In short, whether, as the glacier moves from cold to warm levels, so we who compose that vast Being, the human race, are passing from the chill of collective torpidity to the warmth and life of race-consciousness and race-heartiness, and, if so, whether there is an encouraging speed in this wholesome movement.

ITALY

Young, liberty-loving souls, looking across the ocean in those '55 days, felt pity for the peoples of Europe,—most of all for the Italian people. There was no Italy, there never had been any Italy, except in the ardent imaginations of the Italians, patriot devotees of a country yet to be. The passionate outbreak of 1848, and its resulting little amateur republics, had been supressed by the mailed hand of Austria, and now, of the seven distinct governments in the peninsula, only one, the Piedmontese Kingdom, was constitutional; the other six were despotisms upheld by the hated Austrian power. England would not meddle, France would not meddle, and no other power cared; while the friendly Piedmontese were but weak, pitted against Austria. The outlook in '55 was dark.

But in 1859 the French Emperor for his own ends made a two months' campaign as ally to Victor Emanuel, and wrested Lombardy from Austria, giving that province to the Piedmontese kingdom, but taking Nice and Savoy as payment. Then, within a year, the people of the three Duchies and of the kingdom of the odious Bomba of Naples and of the greater part of the States of the Church, rose, drove out their despots and with the utmost joy welcomed Victor Emanuel as their king,—King of Italy at last. Venice still remained Austrian and Rome was kept a papal possession by French chassepots, but the attack of Prussia on Austria in 1866 forced the freeing of Venice, and she at once fused with her beloved Italy, and the downfall of the French Emperor in 1870 released the people of Rome from his soldiery, and they at once declared their freedom and hailed Victor Emanuel as their king—come to his rightful capital at last.

It is true that to establish the unity and independence of a nation is but to take one step toward its arrival at the goal of democratic welfare; but it is an indispensable step,—and that glorious first achievement Italy realized in those strenuous twelve years.

UNITED STATES

In 1855 the people of this country were just awaking to the startling consciousness that the chronic trouble about slavery was becoming the one pressing issue and that they had to come to grapple over it. The first presidential campaign to be fought with reference to slavery was taking shape; the contest was on a question felt to be but preliminary,—the question whether slave-holding should be allowed in any more territories; and all felt that this was but the beginning of a struggle likely to last through one or two generations. No one thought of war; the North did not take seriously the Southern talk of secession, and the South had no idea the North would fight for the Union.

Yet within six years that which no one had foreseen happened; the life and death clinch came, and within another four years all was over; two great dangers downed forever—negro slavery and state autonomy.

War is a biological blunder, most of all a civil war in a vigorous race; and our civil war no doubt caused a frightful loss both of quality and quantity in the Anglo-Saxon stock here. But it seems there was no other way; the price had to be paid, before the people of this country, at last the real *United* States, could start upon their strenuous career as a nation.

Thinking on the awfulness yet inevitability of these struggles, I am often reminded of the early Catholic notion of redemption, which was, stated by St. Augustine, that the sufferings and death of Christ were the ransom which the devil demanded and received from God for the release of the elect. The doctrine is no bad symbol of the actual course of history; for it appears to be true that, for every step in the salvation of man, God has paid the devil his price, in the agony and bloody sweat of God's son, Humanity.

FRANCE

Americans in '55, and in the years following, cherished the proper republican hatred for the usurper who was then Emperor of the French under the great name of Napoleon. His regime seemed diabolic in its tendency to bring out and exalt whatever was worst in character among his subjects; and yet it looked like a solid regime. It seemed as if fickle France had tired of her many roles, and settled down into military imperialism as a finality. We knew nothing of the true France, then concealed, but which has slowly emerged during the tumultuous years since, the France of seriousness, of steadfastness, of unshakable will to be free and to remain free, of good sense in the ways of heightening freedom and of exalting country.

In 1870 came Sedan, and exposed to the world and to France the foolhardy sham which had so imposed upon imaginations, then on a certain September morning echoed from Paris across the ocean the cry, "Decheance! Decheance!" and we knew that, whatever might be coming, at least the Napoleonic myth was extinct, and there was hope for reality. The years since have justified our warmest hopes, and today shows a France on the high road to a nation's truest greatness—the redemption to equality and fraternity of a free people.

GERMANY

In 1855 there was no Germany, except in poetry and in student's dreams. There was a strong Prussia, and there was a miscellaneous assortment of weak kingdoms and principalities, all these alike only in language. Doubtless the evils of disunion were so great that their slow pressure must have sometime brought about union, even if there had been no Bismarck; but it remains the fact that it was he who fused these diverse states into one imperial nation, fused them in the furious heat of a war-fire which he himself had kindled.

Here again, the national existence had to be bought and had to be held at a great price; but it was right to pay the price, for the full national existence was an indispensable first step, before the life of the people could go on and blossom into those forms of grace and beauty which patriot poets had imagined. A sturdy and fiercely upright stock holds that German land; not forever will it need to hold the land as a fortified camp; the time is near when the boundary lines shall be only the faint lines between friendly peoples, and when Germany can go on to her glorious pre-eminence in economic righteousness as well as in civil righteousness.

COMMERCIALISM

When we think of it, it seems strange that the birth of two great nations, Germany and Italy, and the re-birth of two other great nations, the United States and France, should all have taken place within a certain twelve years, from 1860 to 1871. Furthermore, within those same twelve years—that is to say, in the year 1868,—came the vast extension of the suffrage in Great Britian, which brought that country at last almost in line with the democracies of the world. Doubtless the synchronism of all these happy events was more than a coincidence; the result at least was that the great nations were then all together ready to plunge into that form of national life which has ever since been becoming more and more tense—the commercial struggle. The commercial struggle is the continued effort of each nation to make as many things and to sell as many things as possible, and at as high a profit as possible. The moralist can see both good and evil in this phase of the race's life; for the present moment I wish only to point out certain results of the commercial struggle between nations, results which appear to me full of good possibilities.

There is first the singular tendency of the competitive process to replace itself by its own opposite, combination. That this would happen was foretold by certain writers on economics a half century ago, but they were held to be heterodox, and the regular teaching was that free competition is a naturally permanent state, and contains within itself the elements which must early destroy any great combinations arising. The orthodox are now in confusion, for events are falsifying their dicta. Enormous combinations have come into being, absorbing in a single control an entire branch of industry, and proving the immense economic advantage of eliminating the wasted labor, the labor at cross-purposes, involved in competition. This development in what may be called the mechanics of mankind—this phase of the vast corporation—points us with hope to a succeeding culminating phase,—the carrying on of all industry by universal co-operation.

Let me next point out three by-products, so to speak, of the commercial struggle, and which seem to me attainments possessing happy spiritual significance.

(*Continued on Page 3*)

(*Continued from Page 2*)

Statesmen early recognized that a nation whose workers are uneducated competes poorly with one which has educated all its people. Hence the great nations of Europe, Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Great Britain, widened their systems of free education, following our example of universal education at public charge. Efficiency in trade has followed; but another result is also ensuing—the growing sense of the masses that they can be masters of their own destinies,—a state of mind which promises well for that complete democratic welfare which is our goal.

The second spiritual product of the era of intense international trade is something quite new to the world—a fair understanding of man by man, across abysses of race, of religion, and of politics. A young man who has grown up in today's comparatively lenient atmosphere of discussion cannot guess at the hard and cruel judgments which the best of men entertained towards opponents a half century ago. How is this spiritual reform a result of trade activity? Simply because if you want to trade with a man you must treat him decently; and as soon as you begin to treat him fairly, you begin to think fairly about him—to put yourself in his place. Thus this wonderful and beautiful change in the world springs out of something which is not beautiful in itself, the passion for trade. Here we have a good illustration of the new doctrine of history, a doctrine called by various clumsy names, such as "economic determinism," "the materialist conception of history," and the like, but which everyone who wants to get true perspectives of past and present and likely future must study.

The breaking down of the barriers between men's minds has swept away one of the worst obstructions to progress; all kinds of arrangements between nations and between classes are now possible which half a century ago were impossible, so that it is now worth while to undertake even so stupendous a task as the studying out of a practical program towards the Commonwealth of Mankind.

Now for the third spiritual product of our factory civilization of this last half century. You know that, ever since a certain divine man, carpenter and prophet, spoke his brief message from the hills of Galilee, mankind have been told on stated days by many thousands of ordained preachers, that brotherly love is the true way of life. You know also how little has been the effect of all this repetition of the divine truth. The fact is, man is an animal and draws his sustenance from the earth; and he cannot and does not derive his habits of thought and feeling and action from mere exhortation, but they arise, in large part unconsciously, from his daily necessities. During all these 1900 years past, there has never until now been a time when a vast body of men were under an economic necessity to act like brothers; in fact, the effect of economic necessity has rather been to make them act the part of cannibals. Now, however, our factory system has created the proletariat—a vast body of workers who are obliged by the very necessity of the situation, to stand or fall together. They are not lovely in all their ways—their combinations are not ideal—but they have the root of the matter in them. And thus out of the hard soil of economic necessity may very well spring at last, the fair flower of actual, universal brotherhood—not hanging like an orchid in the air, but upborne on the sturdy stalk of enforced daily habit.

SUMMING UP

It hardly needs saying that such observations as these of the half century past have given me a firm conviction that "the glacier does move," that human affairs are steadily pressing toward the greater welfare of mankind, that the Being whom Matthew Arnold called "the power that makes for righteousness" is at an accelerating rate becoming supreme. To be a willing atom in this "stream of tendency" is what makes life worth living; it is the truest prosperity of the real man within each of us; and this kind of happiness is open to everyone.

JUST AMONG OURSELVES

A CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP

Paris, France, June 29, 1905.

Dear Comrade:—In regard to the projected society of Socialist Christians, it was encouraging and cheering to read Comrade Rule's enthusiastic word,—to note also, how clear-headed he is about it.

Better a small band, holding a straight-out, unambiguous position, than even a large society with a vague platform. We should make it perfectly plain that religiously we are with the churches, and politically with the actually militant Socialists, holding to economic determinism and the class-interest and class-conscious appeal to the working-class.

Most likely the right name is Christian Socialist Fellowship, or something of that sort—taking in the term *Christian Socialist*; expressly for the purpose for which you stand by that title for the paper; to forestall the attempt which has been so injuriously made in Germany, Austria, and England, to prostitute the title by claiming it for a movement which belittles and oppresses the actual political Socialist movement.

Your idea of preventing such a misuse of these two glorious words in our country, by pre-empting the combination, is good tactics and honesty.

Sincerely Yours,
Rufus W. Weeks.

CHRISTIAN COMFORT

GOD WITH US

Whether we have or have not Socialism, spiritual comfort and consolation are and will ever be needful to every heart and mind. Amid the many difficulties and discouragements of the Socialist propaganda, the Divine presence, power, comfort and consolation are a mighty necessity, the delightful fountains of the supply of which are inexhaustible, and are ever open and free for every loving and obedient child of God.

But we cannot be fully receptive to the same when entirely engrossed in the daily routine of our form of human activity, however right and good. An hour daily for private meditation and private communion with God, is essential to this receptivity. Let us take that hour, however busy we may be, and the joy, power and enthusiasm of our work will be liberally multiplied.

God is in us and ever with us, and in every good word and work he moves us to speak and to act, even when we have not a happy and blessed sense of his presence and power. But how much such a sense adds to the joy and strength of our grand activities nobly and earnestly exercised.

Thought communion with God, in complete withdrawal, for the time, from all things else, always brings this soul-bracing and soul-uplifting and rejoicing sense.

"If God be for us, who can be against us," exclaims the Apostle. To sensibly realize that God is with us, and that nothing can prevail against us, and to realize it in the sublime fullness of his glorious power and meaning, every day, we must take time to talk with God in the most complete soul-intimacy.

This requires no thunderous organ melodies, no grand cathedral's awe-inspiring heights, shadows, sounds and splendors, nor ministering priest in sacred vestments reflecting holy lights. It may be had by day or by night, in heat or cold, anywhere beneath the all-embracing heavens. W. B. G.

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

Extract from an address by Rev. E. P. Powell at the Congress of Religion, Lincoln Centre, Chicago, May 31.

Economically we are slaves. At any moment the manager of millions can dispose of our property as he will. A corporation can rush through my house with a shorter cut for a railroad—exploited for private advantage—even though I own stock in the road. Meanwhile my stock may be reduced, until I am a beggar, without power to resent. The story is worth recalling only to remind you that here, too, we edge a rebellion. We began our industrial autocracy when we created the first protective tariff—a tariff to foster one industry at the expense of others. We created a lobby that one hundred years could not get rid of, and now we have a nation educated to every man get all he can and the devil take the hindmost. There will be a decided stride toward social co-operation—call it Socialism if you choose. It will be of the same order as our public schools, and public highways, and public post-offices. It will include public control of all public utilities, including electric tramways, telegraphs and telephones. It will include State co-operation beyond individual needs. It will give profits to profit makers. Our cities will be thinned out into a suburbanism that will make the whole country to blossom like a garden. Our old people will not be left to the chances of starvation, nor will newborn babes be allowed to breathe the darkness of cellars and the infested air of slums. Legal advice and medical advice, instead of impoverishing the common folly, will be rendered free, not only to our school children but to all classes, and be paid for from common taxation. Let the dead past bury its own dead. At the end of another era we shall have forgotten political and social judgment which measures rank and assigns position by the amount of pigment in the skin. It will no longer be thinkable that a man should sell his soul for a stingy office or his honor for watered stock. Tremendous as the work is which has been laid out for the immediate future, I believe that the achievement will be as magnificent as the work. I will not look backward. The world does move. The American people at heart are not hopelessly corrupt. Tucked away in the joints and armlets of society are the buds of a new and more beautiful blossoming and fruitage.

SOME EXTRA COPIES

We are printing a few hundred extra papers of this issue for bundle orders at ONE CENT PER COPY. Note the contents. It is an exceptionally fine number. Order soon, if you want any. They will not last long. If you are too late for this issue we have a few of the last two issues—excellent for propaganda. "Get the habit" of ordering a bundle at least once a month to distribute among your friends.

OFFER EXTRAORDINARY

A Friend has presented theChristian Socialist with 130 copies of Richard Heath's (new and revised edition) "The Captive City of God," in paper cover, which will be shipped at once from London, England. We are therefore able to offer this most excellent book for the nominal price of 25c post-paid, to the FIRST *130* PERSONS ordering. "A hint to the wise, etc."

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CONCERNING SACRIFICE

BY EDWIN ARNOLD BRENHOLTZ

I caught my flesh saying to my soul that it had made some sacrifices for Truth's cause.

Astounded I stood in silence.

Flesh finally shamed to silence, Soul flamed forth,—identifying me with Flesh:

"Thou art aflame with love and zeal for this great Cause?

"Let's estimate the *sacrifices*, O thou strident boaster of bestowals!

"One *might* have loved his enemies with such all-mastering love as would have won them to the life-long service of the Cause.

"One *might* have borne the base betrayals of his Judases with manliness so manifestly love-inspired that Judas had survived and stood unflinchingly through future flames—a great evangel for Truth's Cause.

"One *might* with little offort have been martyred for a half-way truthful cause—have let the free-shed blood be seed for something mightier than a church in love-bestowal, uplift, saving-power producing men—in Time—from a brute-beast soil.

"One *might*, with mightier consecration, have accomplished Truth's commands. With perfect consecration this could be, *and not one sacrifice then call to Truth for recognition or expected recompense.*

"One might *at least* have starved, gone naked or scant clothed, never rested night or day through unremembered years for such a Cause."

. . . .

"*Instead*, thou standest shamed, alive, with little done, thought not too hardly of by rivaling plutocrats, rulers, priests, parsons, church deacons, elders and the like! contributing *at times* a dole that never caused one lack of comfort in thy full, well-fed, well-clothed, well-sheltered life. . . . .

"*Thou!* and speaking of a sacrifice *to Truth!!*

"*Thou! and standing shamed before thy Soul!*"

Thus flamed my soul illuminating words before the startled senses cowering in shame, silenced, paralyzed with perfect comprehension of the past.

. . . .

Come, Comrade, let the accusation stand, said I to Flesh; *forthwith let us accomplish Truth's commands.*

O, CAUSE BELOVED! THE DAY OF PERFECT CONSECRATION IS AT HAND.

A HEART TO HEART TALK WITH THE NEW MISSIONARY

BY WARNER WILLIS FRIES

W'Y, good mornin', man! My stairs, you say,
Have kinder taken your breath away,—
Wall, they air kinder tiresome, an' yet,
We're nearer heaven than most folks get.
Let me dust this box;—there, take a seat,
I don't have time enough to keep neat,
I must listen workin', I'm afraid;—
I can't feed the children till I'm paid.

Wall, mam, I've heard ev'ry word you've said,
But souls must starve till bodies are fed;
Religion sort uv seems fur the kind
With stomachs and purses both well lined.
What you say of Christ sounds very sweet,
But not much like the Christians I meet;
His folks nowadays know how to preach,—
But they don't practice near all they teach.

They,d see us starve an' let us drop dead,
A prayin' to God to give us bread;
Or go to church rigged up in fine clo'es,
With us freezin' right under their nose;
They go wearin' their jewels an' gold
With no thought fur the hungry an' cold;
They eat the richest an' wear the best,
While preachin' Christ died fur the distressed.

Their elegant churches seem to me
A mockin' the Christ of Galilee,
Their fancy turnout an' coachmen trim
Remind me of Satan more'n of him,
Though we slave fur 'em our whole lives through
They don't half pay us fur what we do;—
An' they say it's part of the good Lord's will
That thousands wait our places to fill.

Jesus, who come here to help the poor,
Don't seem to care fur us any more.
Those he said couldn't enter heaven
Boast that all their sins are forgiven.
If they lose a child they wonder why
God can allow one of their's to die,
When He in mercy might take away
Ours, that air made of common clay.

Talk of mercy! can it really be
That God shows mercy to such as me?
If He does,—then I've no cause to fear
A hell that's worse than I'm findin' here,
Where beasts an' birds air by nature fed
An' my children go hungry to bed;
While those who live free from toil an' care
Prate to us of a heaven somewhere.

Excuse me, mam, for runnin' on so;
Many, like you, air different, I know.
I get so tired, my heart is so sore,
I don't care what I say any more.
But it gives me hope—the things you've read,
An, the cheerin' words that you have said.
While workin, I'll pray with all my might
For God to hasten the Reign of Right.

ROUTINE AT TIMES OUR SALVATION

THERE will come a weary day
When, overtaxed at length,
Both hope and love beneath
The weight give way.
Then with a statue's smile,
A statue's strength,
Patience, nothing loth,
And uncomplaining does
The work of both.
—Coleridge.

PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIALISM

BY GEORGE WILLIS COOKE

IN the interpretation and defense of Socialism too much attention has hitherto been given to economics. It cannot be questioned that the economic factor in life is primarily the most important, but only as the alphabet is primary to literature. We must eat in order to live, and the securing of "the necessities of life" occupies much of our time; but the eating is not the main business of life or that which determines what life gives us.

In the time when Karl Marx wrote, Political Economy was attracting far more attention comparatively than it does at present, and he gave it a place in his work which it could not have if he were writing at the present day. In his reaction from the philosophy of Hegel, under whose teaching he was trained, he continued to use his master's methods but discarded his conclusions. Partly from this cause, and partly because a scientific psychology had not then been developed, Marx ignored far too largely the inward life of man in producing his system of Socialism. If Socialism can be established as a practical social order, it is because man is more than animal, and because his life is ruled by other than economic causes. Marx recognized this truth, but he did not give it clear and definite expression.

The time had not come when he wrote for giving psychology its true place in a system of social reconstruction. That time has now come or is fast approaching. The science of mind has made immense strides forward in the years since the death of Marx, and it occupies a place widely different from that which it held when he began his "Capital." Were he writing now it cannot be doubted he would recognize its significance for Socialism as he could not when he was producing that great work.

Since there is no socialist orthodoxy, at least if the repeated statements of Socialists are to be accepted, why should not the new science have full recognition wherein it supplements and strengthens the argument from economics? Unfortunately this work of bringing pyschology to the aid of Socialism has not yet been undertaken in a really scientific spirit, and on a scale proportionate to the great help it is capable of affording.

Some of the strongest and most convincing arguments for socialism are to be found in the work of the students who are now developing this science. While the psychologists are not Socialists, because Socialism bases its arguments on economic theories and seeks purely economic conclusions, they are fully aware that there science is making strongly for a conception of society far other than that which now exists. They have very generally discarded the old individualism, and are setting forth a social conception of the individual and society which is truly Socialistic in its nature.

No one has as yet worked out thoroughly a system of social reconstruction based on psychology or even suggested wherein Socialism as developed by Marx ought to be modified as the result of modern investigations in the science of the mind, yet a number of most suggestive works have been produced that show the trend of the new ways of thinking.

First of all may be named Prof. Thorstei Veblen's "Theory of Business Enterprise." This may be placed first because it is a work in economics which recognizes the psychological factor in social life. A closely reasoned study of the present economic situation, such as this is, cannot to-day ignore those factors of our life which are the result of our psychological relations to our work and to each other as human beings. The value of Veblen's work is in its keen analysis of the effects of "the machine economy" upon the individual and upon society. It is not merely the economic effect of machinery which he graphically describes, but its psychological effect in developing the social impulse in a fresh and striking manner. He shows that the effect of the machine economy is seen in the trades union and in Socialism as necessary results, because it emphasizes and develops the spirit of co-operation and combination. While his argument is economic in form, it is essentially psychological in the causes and motives he interprets.

Another work of great importance is "The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct," by Alexander Sutherland, published several years ago. Here we have an extended and thorough study of the influences that are essentially social in their nature. Its value consists in proving that man is a social being from the beginning, that he has always lived in society, and that when he is permitted to act out the essential qualities of his nature, he lives harmoniously with his fellows. In the very nature of man's being, and in the permanent factors of the relations of individuals to each other, he is essentially a Socialist. This is why human society began in the form of communistic-socialism, why that form of social organization has done more for the world and been more permanent than any other, and why it continues to exist among a third or a fourth part of the population of the earth, even though it has been warred upon in every possible manner by those who have wished its destruction.

Sutherland deals with the evolution of the family, the growth of morality, and the immense influence of the social sentiment. His work is of the greatest value to all who would understand why man is a social being, and what are the permanent, essential factors in the evolution of mankind.

Another work that cannot be overlooked is "Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development; A Study in Social Psychology," by Prof. James Mark Baldwin, now of Johns Hopkins University. To this should be added two or three other works by Prof, Baldwin, which introduce and supplement this most important of his books. It cannot be claimed that he is a Socialist, but he presents a psychological interpretation of society, that not only makes for what is far other than now exists, but that is fundamentally altruistic and collectivist in its nature. But it must be understood that he is not a theorist, that he has no social ideal to offer; but that he is a student of human nature as he finds it. His scientific interpretation of the mind of man does not support the existing individualism, and it gives no countenance to the existing economics. If his work does not make in the direction of Socialism as usually presented, it is helping to establish a radically new conception of psychology, and one that is thoroughly social in its nature.

What is most suggestive in Baldwin's work, and in that of most of the newer psychologists, is that he completely overthrows the old individualism, root and branch. He places the emphasis upon the social factors of psychology, and while he does not ignore individualism, he makes it secondary rather than primary. His work cannot be regarded as final, but what Baldwin writes is worthy of the closest attention. He is an acute thinker and investigator, and he has quite broken away from the theories of the individual and society upon which rest our current politics and business action.

The fact is there is growing up among scientific investigators a radically new conception of man. A new school of thinkers is being trained, which has as yet had almost no influence upon current economics and statesmanship, but which must inevitably bring to the front, in a generation or two, a body of leaders who will be practically socialistic in their conceptions of the individual and society. No one can carefully study the scientific conclusions of the leaders in this movement and feel any sympathy with the arguments now put forth by our foremost spokesmen for current political beliefs and economic theories. Under the leadership of the scientific psychologists we are discovering that man is a social being, and that we must find the true ends of individual existence in society.

ANOTHER WORKMAN IN PARLIAMENT

FROM the London Labour Record we learn that David Shackleton, Secretary of the Weavers Union, has been elected to Parliament unopposed from the Clitheroe district or "division." He is a bright, able man with much experience in the hard school of the mills. Speaking of women at the looms, especially mothers, he gives us a glimpse of the present unfortunate condition of the English weavers and raises a most serious question as to the future of children born and reared under such conditions. He says:

"How can you ever expect to have a fine race of men and women brought up under the conditions which prevail throughout Lancashire at the present time. At half-past five in the morning the young children are taken out of their warm beds and carried in shawls to the house of a neighbour. Between eight and nine the mother comes back and suckles the baby, and returns again to work; the same thing happens at midday; and then in the evening both parents return to the home, tired with the day's work, and the children are put to bed. Is it surprising that with such a strain upon the mother — the racket of the mill interposed between the care of her family—and such physical conditions for the child, infant mortality is so appallingly high, and that the vitality of those that survive is so low?

"Of course, I know the other side. I know how hard it is for a weaver's wife, whose husband is earning some 23s. or 24s. a week, to stay at home when she might be earning a pound by her own exertions; particularly when she sees her neighbor, whose husband is a carpenter with a weekly wage of 38s. or £2, living comfortably. I know how hard it was in our case, and, as a total abstainer and non-smoker myself, it was far easier for us than it would be for other families."

From a Letter of James Russell Lowell Written When 27 Years Old

"My calling is clear to me. I am never lifted up to any peak of vision—and moments of almost fearful inward illumination I have sometimes—but that, when I look down in hope to see some valley of the Beautiful Mountains, I behold nothing but blackened ruins; and the moans of the down-trodden the world over—but chiefly here in our own land—come up to my ear, instead of the happy songs of husbandmen reaping and bringing the sheaves of light; yet these, too, I hear not seldom. Then I feel how great is the office of poet could I but even dare to hope to fill it. Then it seems as if my heart would break in pouring out one glorious song that should be the gospel of Reform, full of consolation and strength to the oppressed, yet falling gently and restoringly on the withered youth-flowers of the oppressor."

The Czar might have acknowledged the right of the people to petition for redress of grievances without paying any more attention to the grievances than the United States Senate does.—The Detroit Free Press.

THE CHURCH AND SOCIALISM

BY W. H. RANDALL

OF all the various forms of opposition which Socialism has to encounter, the unnatural, illogical and surprising, the most trying to the faith and patience of a heart-full reformer, is the opposition which proceeds from the Christian Church. The principles of Christianity are transforming the world, and that includes reforming it in course of time; but as yet Christians in general decline to apply these principles to the system of business. When the one great movement that aims to lift up mankind for manhood's sake is treated with hostility or cold indifference by the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth, the world cannot help an instinctive feeling that the Master is wounded in the house of his friends. For the Socialist movement is, above almost every other, the cause of both God and man, and never should have been regarded with suspicion by any one who believes in Jesus Christ. Nor would it be, save for misconceptions. Its starting-point is the sense of justice, which every Christian conscience is bound to obey; and its object is nothing else than the universal fullfilment of the Golden Rule.

Of course we hear at once a challenge to this statement. Many Socialists hold it as an ironclad creed that the downfall of capitalism must ensue solely upon the expansion of the competitive system to its utmost,—a process foreign to ethical forces, impelled, not by justice but by necessity, and destined to result through evolution in all utilitarian good. Their prime insistence is upon the "class struggle." They distrust the church as they distrust everything that is not identified by origin or interests with the proletariat; for, to them, the church at its best is a bourgeois institution. They claim to be the only reliable Socialists, but we need not take them at their word.

It is no wonder that such exclusive claims advanced by Marxians have offended many who might otherwise have given favorable attention to the subject. "We judge the tree by its fruit," they say, and accordingly they will not so much as learn what are the real tendencies of Socialism. It is the old story: opinions are formed upon personal considerations, likings or dislikings, careless whether the subject is vital or trivial, or what its merits may be. This is not conduct worthy of Christians. The children of fathers who suffered in former ages for truths to which the world would not listen ought not to reject a doctrine without a hearing in these days simply because they do not like the teachers. There is intolerance among churchmen as well as among the followers of Marx; but wherever it exists it is evil.

The difinitions of Socialism given by impartial authorities of the highest rank contain no clauses opposed to organized Christianity. Some are more general in terms than others, but it is a notable fact that all agree in or are in harmony with the central, practical idea that the resources of the earth and the agencies of production and distribution of products must be taken into possession by the whole people. What matter if one wing of the army that secures this end carries a materialistic banner in addition to the blood-red flag of Love, the most appropriate color for the ensign of a Christian soldier that could possibly have been chosen? Let those who maintain the central principle march under their own standard, never refusing honest allies in politics for a difference in religious faith, so long as the crimson banner waves over all. The best confirmation of the political economy propounded by the leaders of the International is the fact that its outcome is a platform consistent, as that of no other party has ever been, with justice and human brotherhood.

Some of our brethren in the churches make issue with the statement that the fundamental principles of Socialism are just and right. It seems easy to them to dismiss the matter as discontented, idle dreaming, contrary to the laws of nature. Christian scholars are found ready to defend the effects of competition as, on the whole, beneficent, however severe, or even unfortunate they may be in some cases, like the survival of the fittest among animals; and, indeed, as an operation under the same great law! They condemn Socialists upon a charge of subverting the rights of property, which nothing less than ages of gradual progress in civilization and law-abiding discipline have built up. To their eyes, the obliteration of classes and ranks which Socialism would accomplish (since it would lay the ax at their root) leaving none but individual distinctions conferred through election or award for personal merit, appears like the return of Chaos and old Night. Life would be too flat for endurance, they think, after such leveling, even though it were attained by lifting the bottom of society to a level of intelligence with the top.

But the times of ignorance are passing rapidly away when Christians could be acquitted of blame for such misconceptions. It is a shame for a man who sits as a public instructor to approve the working of the competitive struggle for existence among human beings. The aim of the New Testament is to enforce upon men, not upon Christians only but all men, the supreme obligation of the Law of Love. Where is the authority for pronouncing it a dream?

Persons of any education ought to know that the social revolution, so far from destroying private rights of property, would enable nine-tenths of mankind to possess more property, and to hold it more securely than they ever yet have done. Great fortunes would be made impossible, but poverty for anyone willing to work, would be abolished.

It is folly to talk of putting an end to ranks and classes; for, if they were removed, men would replace them. But their bases have been and can be changed. Hereditary distinctions have been done away in part, and must be wholly; but what Socialism would chiefly do is to break the support of wealth.

Ambitions and personal affinities can never be diminished by legislation. If ranks of nobility and aristocracies of wealth are eradicated, the same natural passions will turn with equal intensity to exert themselves through such channels as may be opened. The world will see new lines of aspiration, new, higher classes, new parties, founded upon no material possessions and safe because intrinsically true.

It is free to anyone, of course, to traverse these assertions. They invite examination. But the man who fancies that this subject can be dismissed with a few trite phrases is himself dreaming.

More and more of the members of our churches and congregations are acknowledging that the complaints laid against the competitive system of business are not exaggerated; but they are perplexed about the remedy. They see no other way out, but they hesitate still at the radical character of the proposition offered by Socialism. This timidity cannot last long. How can rational minds expect a satisfying result from makeshift policies that do not touch the evident source of the evils? We want peace and not war; but competitive business is war.

This is not the place for an exposition of socialistic measures. One point may be sufficient for the present purpose. The changes intended by Socialism will indeed be radical, but their scope ought to be well understood, especially by the Christian public. There is nothing in the essential principles of Socialism that invades the province of religion, either as to opinions or conduct; nor that affects the family as to marriage and divorce, or the management of children, nor that limits the freedom of any person to save or spend what he is able to earn. The strongest aversion is felt to the idea that, under Socialism, every person must be an earner; but the utmost possible range of choice in occupation would be afforded, and, in fact, the liberty to choose and change would be far better than any except a small minority enjoy today. All would depend on the good sense of the common people, who would make the rules and must themselves obey them.

The one chief thing to be abrogated is competition for profit and the means of life. But there is much less of this among men than is commonly imagined. Look carefully at the daily life of your community. Unless it is composed of men engaged in large business, the dealings are as kindly as they are honest. Not that transactions on a larger scale are always wrong,—of course not; but they are the main field of competition with accompanying profit for which no equivalent is rendered.

No undue homage need be paid to the power of legislation to redress evils. That which law has created, law can annul, if it is enforced; therefore, say the Socialists, let the power of legislation be tested for all that it can do. It is not wise to underestimate the educative force alone that resides in an established law.

But now, supposing that some members of the Christian community fully recognize the evilness of capitalism, and, farther still, approve the essential measures proposed by Socialism as the just and natural remedy, what can the church as a body do in the matter? The answer must be,—Little, until they are pretty thorougly united among themselves upon the subject, and nothing except by moral influence.

When did the Church, as an institution, ever initiate an important reform in civil society? When did any large church organization ever give [illegible] support to such a reform when once initiated, excepting the movement for international peace? Not one can equal the honorable record of the small denomination of Friends. Clergy and laity are deeply influenced by a feeling that social and political questions belong to the affairs of the world, with which the church cannot safely have anything to do.

If preachers leave the gospel, upon which there is practical agreement, and the simple, daily virtues and Christian duties which have been settled from the beginning, to launch forth upon the application of Christian principles to the issues of each new year, advocating the cause of oppressed classes or races, denouncing some wicked traffic or political corruption or unjust law, we shall see the churches engaged before long in hot internal dissensions, which though sincere may result in ruin. Nor is it certain that the preacher has a moral right to deliver the whole truth, as he sees it, from the pulpit of a church, "whether men will hear, or whether they will forbear." The hearers have a right to be considered. In Protestant churches, at least, there is an equitable contract between the speaker and the audience, which forbids either one to offend rudely against the sentiments of the other.

Let all the weight be attributed to this reasoning which it can justly bear. What then? This—that hypocrisy is a worse danger than even Socialism. The seamless garment may be rent in pieces and yet preserve the same quality, but woe! if its texture be decayed. If church members are seen practicing upon the selfish principles of competition, and the church takes no interest—pleading want of jurisdiction, and there is nothing done, the world will judge correctly that the church is a hypocritical, silent partner in sin.

Something must be done to free the church from such complicity. If differences of opinion exist among the members as to what is morally allowable, the church may not be able to speak as a body. But members must then speak for themselves, or suffer the same condemnation. There must be Christian agitation, bold and persistent, until there can be united church action for the right. Words can scarcely overstate the importance of a clear, positive, right attitude of Christians upon this question to the church and cause of Jesus Christ.

ITEMS FROM EVERYWHERE

EDITED BY GEO. H. STROBELL

One of the greatest sources of revenue of the Russian government is the liquor monopoly. Of interest therefore is the news reported by the daily press that the revolutionists have demolished, in a few instances, the vodka shops and appropriated the money found therein to the use of the Social Democratic committees. Further dispatches from St. Petersburg state that six thousand St. Petersburg workmen have recently signed the pledge, and sworn to touch no strong liquor until Russia is freed. The movement is spreading at such a rate that the financial condition of the government may be seriously imperiled. In several villages in the government of Olonets the peasant *mirs* have passed resolutions proscribing anyone who touches vodka. The culprit will be condemned to wear on his neck a ticket bearing the word *planitsa* (drunkard). In South Russia several villages have gone over to total abstinence. After the agrarian riots in Kharkoff the Mouliks in the revolting village of Khorvalovka resolved to touch no drink until they had been given sufficient land for their subsistence. It is apparent to anyone who has kept in touch with the European Socialist movement that a strong sentiment exists which regards the liquor traffic as essentially an investment of capitalism, especially favored because of the large dividends and as promoting the degradation and making possible the enslavement of the working class. Strong resolutions have been passed at the latest national congresses in Germany, Austria and Belgium, that show the existence of this sentiment.

The following item from the Cleveland Citizen quite takes away our breath: "The London Clarion confirms the report that Socialism is making rapid headway in China. The Clarion says: 'Dr. Sun Yat Sen has stated in Brussels that the Chinese revolutionary Socialists publish no fewer than 54 journals, and that there will shortly be news which will astonish Europe.' "

We are also obliged to our Cleveland cotemporary for the clear article on the development of the Labor party of Australia into a Socialist party. In the recent election in South Australia the Labor party just about doubled its seats in the lower branch of the Legislature, electing 15 members in a total of 42. The party also has several strong sympathizers, and it is understood that when the Legislature meets the government will resign and turn the affairs of the state over to the Labor party, which will be able to control a working majority. John Christian Watson, the printer who served as prime minister during the party's brief time of power previously, said that the labor movement industrially had always been a socialistic movement. "If our opponents by making their main issue Anti-Socialism meant to unite the forces of anarchy to oppose Socialism they were welcome to their job. They might as well attempt to sweep back the incoming tide with Mrs. Partington's broom as to expect to stem the tide of advancing Socialism. The trend of affairs was towards more and more State interference, and the right of the State to protect the weaker against the stronger. The inevitable tendency of society was in favor of collectivism and the recognition of the fraternity of man and the Fatherhood of God."

But listen to this jargon put forth by "Everybody's" publishers, July number:

We are not Socialists, but at the risk of being accused of waving the red flag of anarchy we must ask, What right has one man to acres on acres of game forests and miles on miles of trout streams? What right has one man to a private yacht with 180 men on board to look after him? Understand, we do not believe in an equal division of property or any of that sort of thing. We do not approve of anything which would limit any man's honest ambition. What we do wish to remind you of, and in the most forcible way possible, is the wide gulf between rich and poor which has been growing rapidly wider in the last few years, and which threatens untold horrors if some plan is not evolved to bridge it.

"Socialists," "red flag of anarchy," "equal division of property," "bridge the gulf between rich and poor"! The ignorance of the educated man passes comprehension.

President Roosevelt's words at William's College show that he understands the change going on about us. He said:

"Another question of which I wish to speak is that of a closer supervision by the Government of great industrial combinations. I think that it has been a great mistake to act on the theory which has shaped most of our legislation, national and state, for the last thirty years, that it is possible to turn back the hands of the clock, to forbid combinations and to restore business according to and under conditions which have absolutely passed away. That cannot be done. What we can have done is to put an efficient supervision over the owners of the combinations, so as to see as far as possible that they are employed in the interest of and not against the general welfare."

But can he not see that the ownership of the means of production and distribution in the hands of a wealthy class will be used solely for the advantage of that class, or in other words always against the general welfare? All the supervision in the world cannot stop the ever increasing tide of profits going into the hands of the non-producers who are morally not entitled to it.

The National Food Manufacturers have organized for the protection of their business. Nearly seventy men took part in the organization meeting and fully 90 per cent of the food manufacturers in the United States will be members of the association in a short time, as everyone who has been approached thus far has expressed hearty approval of the plans of the projectors of the organization. The projectors say: "There is a capital of something like eight billions of dollars invested in the manufacture of food products in the United States, but heretofore the trade has not acted as a unit. Our purpose in agitating for the enactment of a national pure food law is not at all to protect adulterators of food. At the same time, we wish to avoid being put at the mercy of irresponsible scientific persons who have certain fads which they wish to enforce."

Of course they want the same protection that rebates, watered stock, stolen franchises, industrial monopolies and railroad murders receive. Why should they not have it?

One of the significant tendencies of the times is shown in the frequent castigation given the jury system by leading members of the capitalistic class. They ascribe to it all the failures of justice and the non-enforcement of law. Underneath their dishonest fault-finding lies the consciousness that the jury system is a bulwark of the common people that may in course of time be encountered in schemes of exploitation. They forget that the jury system never touches the cases wherein the people have the greatest interests, which the judges decide. The real trouble with our system of justice is that there are so many lawyers to be taken care of and that the making of law is intrusted to them. So to get enough business to go around they create the privilege of appeal in every possible way. If no judgment of a court below should be reversed except for an error which would have led to a different verdict fully half of the present business of lawyers would be lost. As Socialists we should remember this when we get the power to make laws in the next few years. The subject might make a good platform declaration for the present.

Read Ida Crouch Hazlitt's letters to The Appeal and other papers on the outrages in West Virginia. Oh! for a daily paper in New York or Chicago to depict the horrors of capitalism day after day until the whole country rings with the story.

"There is no law, no pity, no conscience, no decency. Brute greed is law, law-maker, king, governor, court, judge, sheriff and deputy. Labor goes in chains, gaunt, disheveled, broken-boned, desperate-eyed, gagged, tortured and murdered. There is the chain-gang of those who toil and have nothing for their toil. There is the smothering death damp, the deafening charges, the choking flame, the groan of agony, the torn and quivering flesh, the wailing wife, the orphaned baby. There is the heavy-handed monster with the jaw of a brute and the eye of a reptile, and the government's star upon his prostituted breast. There is the midnight raid, the shattered home, the new mother with her babe thrown into the street, the lonely camp-fire in the storm-swept woods, the snow with its soft, cruel cold enwrapping those who have no shelter. There stands the demon with the instrument of death urging the terrorized victims to enter the death-trap, to starve their brothers to work, to work, to work. The whizzing bullet, the slipping knife, the red blood of the soul of man, the silence and death grim and terrible born of lust and fear."

Little by little every means of warfare formerly used by labor unions is becoming obsolete. The strike, boycott, picketing injure materially an employer's business and constitute acts for which damages can, and are being obtained. A dispatch from Rutland, Vt., says: "Consternation prevails among union men here owning to trusteeships, served today on twenty-five members of Protection Lodge, International Association of Machinists, tying up their pay to the amount $1,500, toward satisfying $2,500 damages awarded the Patch Manufacturing Company of Rutland, in the suit against the lodge because of picketing and boycotting during a strike in 1902. This method of collecting damages from members of the lodge is unprecedented in this or any other state, and it is predicted, will revolutionize tactics of legal warfare between capital and labor." The political field is the only battle field left. There, at least, no court can punish. There victory is certain.

One of the incidents in the life of Captain T. Morton Goddard of New York, who died lately, illustrates the conscienceless business methods of the times. As a reformer he had tried to eradicate gambling. Having been successful in driving out the policy shops, convicting Al. Adams, the leader, he turned his attention to the betting on horse racing in the pool rooms of the city. Everything depended on the service of the Western Union Telegraph Company who were making an immense profit sending news from the race tracks. Because of the stir made by Captain Goddard the company was forced to discontinue the service. Before doing so several of the most powerful directors visited Captain Goddard and asked him to "let up" on the company. He refused, and then came the order discontinuing the racing service.

When profits are endangered by morality what then? Why cease being moral. Abolish the profit, so we can be moral, says the Socialist.

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